

WHAT KHRUSHCHEV DIDN'T TELL

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

JUL 2 1957

JULY 1957

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM



American

FEDERATIONIST

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ward Proper Health Care

by Katherine Ellickson

Great Show

by Joseph Lewis

Helping People Trouble

by John Brophy

the Time of Gompers

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Are you at union meetings?

UNLESS YOU PAY ATTENTION to what your union is doing, you can't consider yourself a sincere trade unionist. And you can't be paying attention properly if you don't make it a rule to attend the meetings of your organization. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of consistent attendance at meetings.

We want our union to be clean, democratic and effective. We want our union to deserve the esteem of our neighbors. It's up to us, the members, to see to it that our union always has these qualities. And that means that we must turn out for union meetings. Your union will be what you want it to be—if you always do your part. So, no matter what else you may feel like doing, when you hear there's a union meeting scheduled, *make it your business to be there and participate to the very best of your ability.*

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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

JULY, 1957

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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Building Schools

The school building program of America suffered three grievous setbacks in this generation—the depression of the Thirties, the war of the Forties and the Korean crisis of the Fifties. These three periods caused a drying up of normal schoolroom replacement and expansion—almost like three successive droughts.

So now our educational plant is not ample to cope with the enormous burden of present and future enrollments. Therefore, it is my firm belief that there should be federal help to provide stimulus to correct an emergency situation; that help does not imply a permanent acceptance of responsibility which belongs, not to Washington, but to the local governments and to the local communities and to the people themselves.

Federal help in building schools will not mean federal control. After these new schools are built, after the bricks are laid and the mortar is dry, the federal mission will be completed. All controls and use of those schools will be in the hands of the states and of the localities.

Every phase of the educational process, especially in our system of public schools, is important to all.

Teachers need our active support and encouragement. They are doing one of the most necessary and exacting jobs in the land. They are developing our most precious national resource: our children, our future citizens.

Dwight D. Eisenhower.

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JULY, 1957

GEORGE MEANY'S

Answer to Khrushchev

TEXT OF AN ADDRESS OVER ABC BY PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY OF THE AFL-CIO

RECENTLY Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist Party boss, appeared on an American television program. He skillfully used this occasion to promote the interests of Soviet imperialism and the aims of the worldwide Communist movement. He performed amiably and adroitly in combining persuasion, boasts and outright lies to advance the current Soviet "peace offensive."

Khrushchev painted a glowing picture of the Soviet economy, especially agriculture. He did not say a word about the low standards of life, the intense exploitation of labor, the denial of all democratic rights and forced labor which plague the Soviet peoples. He was completely silent about the discontent among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, as evidenced by student unrest, criticism voiced by writers and the continued forced transfer of many thousands from their homes and jobs within the USSR.

Khrushchev declared that there had been and would be no other party in the Soviet Union than the Communist Party which, he stated, "reflects the desires and wishes of the people so much." This Khrushchev boast reminds one of the boast by Hitler that the Nazi Party regime would last for at least a thousand years in Germany. Actually, the Soviet people have been denied the chance to express through free elections their real desires and wishes. The last time the Russian people had an election which was at all free was more than thirty-nine years ago.

In his television performance Khrushchev admitted that the Kremlin was jamming the Voice of America broadcasts to the Soviet Union. He ad-



GEORGE MEANY

mitted that his government was denying the Soviet peoples the right to listen to America. He tried to explain it away, or excuse it, by saying that Russia "is a very musical country." He went on to say that whether the Voice of America is jammed or not, therefore, depends on whether "it is a good voice" or "it's a voice which cuts on the ear." And, of course, it is Khrushchev and his ruling clique who decide what is a good voice and what is not a good voice for the Russian people to hear.

Khrushchev went even further when he said: "If

the Voice of America does really become the Voice of America * * * it will not be jammed in our country." How nice of Mr. Khrushchev! He not only insists on deciding what the Soviet peoples shall hear or not hear; he also insists on determining what is and what should be the real voice of the American people and what shall be their national policies. To Khrushchev a real Voice of America would be the voice of an America dominated by a Communist puppet government controlled and manipulated by Moscow.

Such are the Communist blessings that Khrushchev would extend to the other nations, including the American people. In this spirit, he boldly announced that the grandchildren of present-day Americans will live under what he calls "socialism"—that is, Communist totalitarianism. He expressed the belief that communism would eventually triumph "because it is a younger system, the most healthy system." Mr. Khrushchev forgot that the young system of fascism had to yield to the much "older" system of democracy.

ACTUALLY, the "young" system of communism is the oldest existing system—namely, slavery. In regard to Khrushchev's claim that communism is the "most healthy" system, that might be so for the bosses who profit from it—but that is certainly not true for the millions of people who have perished under it or who are now being exploited and oppressed by it.

Khrushchev's grandfather tale was told in order to hide the Communist tyranny of today by talking about the grandchildren who are to live under some so-called benign socialism in the future.

I submit, the Soviet rulers are notoriously poor prophets. Foreseeing the victory of Hitler, the Soviets relied on him and signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact which was the signal for World War II. After World II, Khrushchev joined other Kremlin leaders in prophesying that the American economy would collapse. In the nearly forty years of their dictatorship, they have continually, but falsely, predicted and promised better conditions of life and labor for the Soviet people.

These grandfather tales and all their silly prophecies should not fool anyone. And, judging by the way the youth behind the Iron Curtain has been reacting, there is increasing reason to believe that the Soviet parents and their grand-

children will likewise take Khrushchev's bragging with a very big grain of salt.

Khrushchev hastened to assure us that communism in America will be the result of an ideological struggle between capitalism and "socialism" and not through a war. We were told that Moscow does not want to impose communism on anyone. Clearly, the Soviet dictator has only contempt for our memory. Less than eighteen months ago, at the Twentieth Soviet Communist Congress, Khrushchev himself scornfully rejected the idea that communism could be achieved without a revolution. He then branded the idea of a peaceful transition to "socialism" as "reformism" and a betrayal of Leninist doctrine. In the Soviet domain this is treason and punishable by death.

Shrewdly attempting to exploit the abhorrence of war by the American people, Khrushchev posed as a man deeply devoted to the cause of peace. While accusing the United States of planning a war against the USSR, he made himself the advocate of the "people of the world" who "want peace and want a normal life." But all the world knows that it is aggressionist Soviet imperialism which has prevented mankind from enjoying peace and leading a normal life.

Khrushchev could not hide the ugly truth that the Kremlin is interested in peace *only to the extent that it advances Moscow's policies at home and abroad*. He stated frankly that, under cover of its "peace" program and propaganda, the Soviet government seeks the lifting of all Western trade restrictions and the resumption of so-called cultural exchange programs. His plea for cultural exchanges is dishonest. At the conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers in November, 1955, America, Britain and France proposed a seventeen-point program for breaking down the barriers between the people under Communist domination and the free world. Molotov then denounced this program as a blueprint for espionage. Later on President Eisenhower again offered this program to the Kremlin rulers and was once more turned down.

Moscow is interested in trade agreements in order to obtain from the highly industrialized countries badly needed goods. Moscow wants "cultural exchanges" in order to acquire the scientific and technical "know-how" of the "capitalist" countries which it despises and seeks to destroy.

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Khrushchev realizes the vital contributions which the Western world can make and has already made to the upbuilding of the Soviet economic system. Moscow wants the free world—through trade, credits and availability of its superior technique—to help bail the Communist rulers out of the difficulties into which the follies of Communist economy and intense militarization have led them.

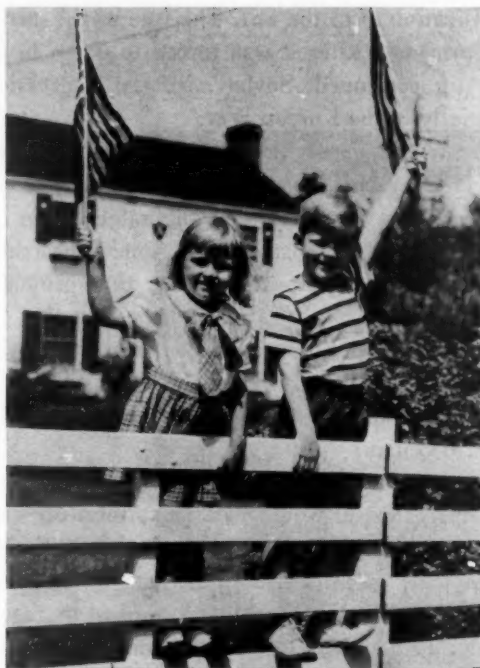
Khrushchev's entire cultural exchange program is completely one-sided. America would derive no benefits from such contacts. These would not be contacts with the Russian people but only with individuals hand-picked by the Kremlin and its police system. Khrushchev made that perfectly clear when he hedged even in regard to unconditional abolition of the existing travel restrictions for United States diplomats in Russia.

The current Soviet "co-existence" campaign is particularly designed to serve the expansionist aims of Soviet imperialism. What "co-existence" means to the present Kremlin rulers was demonstrated with painful clarity last November in Hungary. The Hungarian people and their democratic government offered to live in peace with Russia. They offered friendship to and trade and cultural relations with the Soviet government, with all neighbors of Hungary and all the nations of the world.

What was the answer of the Kremlin to this Hungarian plea for co-existence? It rushed hundreds of thousands of troops and thousands of tanks and jets into Hungary to crush and kill defenseless men, women and children. And what was the crime of this brave people? All they sought was national independence and democracy and the right to co-exist peacefully alongside of Soviet Russia and other countries.

In recent years Soviet expansion has been blocked through the collective defense system of the West and through American superiority in the thermonuclear field. The primary purpose of Soviet foreign policy is to destroy these safeguards of world peace. This is the motivating force for the so-called positive participation by Moscow in the current London disarmament talks. Khrushchev stressed the advantages of disarmament from his domestic point of view. He even dangled, before an American public yearning for a tax cut, the possibility of reducing the armament burden.

But in repeating the Soviet position for banning



For the sake of our children and their children, Americans must never forget that communism's goal is the complete destruction of free way of life in U.S.

atomic and hydrogen weapons and further test explosions, he made sure not to commit himself to a comprehensive system of international control of disarmament measures. He even belittled the proposals for announcing and registering all future nuclear tests. Certainly he knows better than to believe that there can be any guarantee that a disarmament agreement will be carried out unless its enforcement is assured through the establishment of a foolproof system of international inspection and control.

The Communist boss also tried to give the impression that only the Soviet Union had taken constructive measures in the disarmament field. He cited the reduction of Soviet armed forces by 1,800,000, but he refused to cast any light on the well-kept secret—the present military strength of the Red Army. He pretended not to have the exact figures at hand! But, even after this Kremlin-reported decrease of its armed forces—the truth of which no outsider has ever been permitted to check—Soviet Russia still has the strongest military machine in the world. Nor did Khrushchev mention that this was the first decrease reported by the USSR since 1945. In contrast, the democratic powers had carried out almost total de-

mobilization after the war. The free world started to rearm only after it was forced to do so in the face of continued Soviet military aggression, especially in the Korean War.

The most sensational part of the Khrushchev interview was his offer to pull back Soviet troops from Eastern Germany and the satellites in exchange for a withdrawal of American armed forces from Europe. In making this proposal, Khrushchev was fully aware of the fact that the American troops in Europe are the backbone of NATO and that their return to the United States would mean the breakup of the Western collective defense system.

When one of his American interviewers argued that this proposal would mean an American withdrawal over a distance of more than 3,000 miles in the face of a Russian pull-back of only two hours away, he dismissed that argument by resorting to a rather shoddy trick. He compared the distance between New York and Western Europe with the distance between Vladivostok and Eastern Europe. He then concluded that "the distances are about the same." But the decisive point is not what is the farthest but what is the *nearest* distance between the United States and Western Europe and between Russia and Western Europe.

In spite of the obvious dangers involved, some people in Germany and in the satellites, being very anxious to get rid of Russian military occupation, might have some illusions about the Khrushchev proposal. When the American correspondents drew Khrushchev's attention to the possibility that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe might mean the end of Communist rule in the satellites, he haughtily denied it. He waxed demagogic to the point of asserting that even the Kadar regime could continue to exist in Hungary without the presence of the Red Army. He boldly exclaimed: "Let's have a test."

But Hungary has already furnished just such a test. In October, 1956, the Hungarian people revolted not only against Soviet domination but against their own Communist bosses. For this they were crushed by Soviet might. After what happened in Hungary last fall, however, there can no longer be any illusions about the iron determination of the Kremlin to maintain its stranglehold of the captive nations.

Khrushchev's proposal for a mutual troop with-

drawal was not made to bring about the liberation of the enslaved people. It was made solely for the purpose of propagandizing and promoting the withdrawal of America's armed forces from European soil. Such a withdrawal could only make final the enslavement of the captive peoples. In order to thwart this dangerous Soviet maneuver, the West should demand that Moscow should at least implement the Yalta accord on free elections in the satellites and should accept German reunification in freedom.

In his appearance, Khrushchev used the word "peace" rather freely and loosely. However, he did not speak of freedom in his entire television performance. Yet we know that without freedom there can be no real world peace today. The history of the turbulent postwar period, with its massive Soviet aggression and annexations, confirms the validity of this axiom. That is why the free world must stress and strengthen the link between peace and freedom—especially in view of the renewed hypocritical Soviet "peace" offensive.

The American people know what communism has done to the Russian people. We know the plight of the captive peoples in Europe and the Chinese mainland. We should never forget what Khrushchev, after he succeeded Stalin, did to the freedom-loving Hungarian people. None of us should have any doubts of what Moscow is up to in its newest campaign for so-called "peaceful co-existence."

For the sake of our children and their children who come after us, we should always be fully conscious of the basic objective of communism for complete world domination. And then let us always remember—that this basic objective can only be attained by the complete destruction of our free American way of life.

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Why COPE Is Busy Now

By **JAMES L. McDEVITT**
Director, Committee on Political Education

BIG events sometimes have a habit of sneaking up on us in small footsteps. Right now, I am convinced, we are in the midst of a profound change in our political habits. What we in the labor movement do this year and next will have an important bearing on the direction of this change in the years to come.

What has happened in the past few years and what is happening now, I believe, is that vast groups of people are examining their political consciences and re-evaluating their attitudes toward government and its proper role in a free and democratic society. They are taking another look at their political parties and questioning whether the reasons which once compelled their loyalties in one direction or another are still valid.

The great issues which, in our lifetime, provided rallying points of opinion no longer exist or, at least, are less obvious. The great depres-

sion of the Thirties, World War II, the battle against communism in Korea have passed out of the arena of political debate. I do not believe that today anyone can say with certainty what will replace them as great political issues.

Certainly, I hope, nothing of such a catastrophic nature.

Thus in the last four years we have seen many strange things happening in our elections. In areas where straight party-line voting was the rule, split ballots predominated. In areas where great selectivity was previously the pattern, voters marched straight down the party columns.

In some suburbs, where great increases in population have taken place, the pattern of voting was undisturbed. In others there were complete upheavals.

What it all signifies, it seems to me, is the current political rootlessness of our voting population and the growing importance of issues



JAMES L. McDEVITT

rather than party labels as a factor in voting.

This development has two important bearings on the work of our Committee on Political Education.

In the first place, it bears out the

At COPE area sessions the talk has been of the contributions labor can make to the country's welfare.



value of our traditional policy of non-partisanship. We have emphasized always that issues rather than personalities or party labels are the guideposts on the road we travel. Only along that road can we preserve our unity and achieve anything of lasting value.

Secondly, it makes it even more imperative that we in COPE do the two-fold job of keeping our members informed on the issues and assisting them in developing practical methods for expressing themselves upon these issues at the ballot box.

More and more, it is becoming apparent that people make up their minds between elections rather than during election campaigns. One survey indicates that between April and November of 1956 only three per cent of the electorate changed their minds.

As our standard of living, thanks to the collective bargaining efforts of our organizations, increases, as people have more leisure time, and as a larger and larger percentage of the population has an opportunity to reach higher levels of education, it is natural that they want to know more of the facts and are less inclined to be taken in by propaganda or herded by political machines.

The days when a vote could be bought for a bucket of coal or a shot of cheap whiskey are gone—and good riddance to them.

Today the American voter is more persuaded by how his elected representative voted on social security than he is by the kind of Fourth of July oration that representative delivers at his organizational picnic.

This demand to know, this thirst for understanding, places a great and honored responsibility on COPE.

I HAVE been impressed as I have traveled the country these past two months, attending the nine area conferences which COPE has conducted, with the high level of understanding and information possessed by our active COPE workers. I have been even more impressed with their desire for more information on the subjects that concern them as citizens and as trade unionists.

It was a moving experience, at one of the conferences, to have one of the women attending—and about twenty-five percent of the attendance at these conferences has been women—take



Getting our members and their adult relatives registered is the main task.

the floor and thank the group for the opportunity to express her views. What she had to say made more sense than much of the material you will read in the *Congressional Record*.

Time and again at these conferences those who are carrying the ball for COPE at the local union level expressed, in one form or another, the same feeling. I guarantee no politician is going to take these people in with honeyed phrases, and I will match the understanding and active citizenship of the thousands who have attended these conferences against any similar group anywhere in the country.

As a matter of fact, not once did I hear phrases such as were used at a recent U.S. Chamber of Commerce meeting in Washington, D.C. At that meeting speaker after speaker used the phrase "our opponents" or "the other side." At the COPE conferences there was only talk of citizenship, the welfare of our country and the contributions we in this movement have to make to the general well-being of all.

What has been most heartening of all, perhaps, is the growing recognition that while our idealism provides the motivation for our movement, motivation alone will not get the job done.

We can depend only upon ourselves to build the vehicle that will

take us along the road to our common goals of freedom, peace with honor and a secure prosperity. No one else can do this job for us, nor should we allow them to.

So all over the country men and women who have spent their lives organizing and building are lending their talents to the solution of our practical political problems.

THE primary task of COPE this year, as every year, is to enroll as registered voters the members of our organizations and their adult relatives. Just as the job of organizing our trade unions was not done overnight, neither will the job of making sure that all of our members are registered to vote be done overnight.

In this never-ending crusade we have enlisted the aid of our women's activities divisions, and in many a union hall in this country today there are women volunteering their efforts and their time in the tedious but basic task of checking membership lists against registered voter lists.

When the election battles of 1958 are upon us—and in the South the battles are less than six months away—we hope to have a major portion of the job done.

Already COPE is getting requests for campaign funds from candidates who either are facing election battles this year or who recognize that a

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planned dollar spent early next year can do the job of ten dollars that are hastily thrown in during the heat of a campaign.

Those funds can come only from the voluntary contributions of our members. In every union hall in the country there are COPE dollar books, COPE literature, COPE posters and COPE collectors concentrating on getting this message across to our members.

It is already clear that the election campaigns of 1957 and 1958 will strain every resource we have. Indeed, it is almost possible to predict the outcome of those campaigns by

how the COPE voluntary collection is going.

There are some people, of course, who express surprise when we talk about the campaigns of 1957. They are even more surprised when we show them the 103-page COPE compilation of elections taking place this year—and even this compilation is not complete.

It shows the approximately 685 cities with 10,000 or more population in forty-one states in which elections either have been or are to be held this year. In addition, there are statewide and county elections that have been or are to be held in Illinois,

Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin. Since the time the compilation was prepared, Texas and New Mexico were added to the list—with happy results.

The folks on the sixth floor of the AFL-CIO Building who constitute the staff of COPE are pretty friendly and cooperative people with generally jolly dispositions. About the only way you can get a frown from any of them is to say: "What are you all so busy about? Isn't this an off year?"

It's like asking a front-line infantry soldier: "Don't you know there's a war on?"

President Meany Testifies

Employers' Welfare Plan Abuses Cited

TOTAL disclosure of all the facts on welfare and pension plans to the federal government as a safeguard against any illicit gain or improper practices was urged last month by AFL-CIO President George Meany in testimony before a Senate Labor subcommittee headed by Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Mr. Meany assailed the National Association of Manufacturers' stand that plans administered solely by management should be exempted.

The "contribution" of management and the insurance industry to developing an adequate disclosure law, he said, "boils down to the contention that management can do no wrong—that the interests of workers can be left to the discretion of employers."

The billions of dollars piled up in welfare and pension plans, Mr. Meany said, place management in control of money "belonging not to the company or to stockholders but to the employees," yet management claims an exemption privilege from filing financial reports with either the government or workers.

Mr. Meany pointed that 92 per cent of workers covered by welfare plans and 86 per cent of those covered by pension plans have no voice in administering the programs even when they are union-negotiated.

Management-run plans, unless subject to filing and reporting require-

ments, are subject to "more, rather than less, abuse" than those run by unions or by joint administration, he told the subcommittee.

The president of the AFL-CIO cited four specific management-operated plans as illustrating the dangers of "abuse."

A General Electric health insurance plan, he charged, violated "no less than seven of the ethical standards" set forth in an AFL-CIO ethical code on practices covering union managers of such programs. He said the GE plan—particularly the interlocking of directorships between GE and the insurance carrier, Metropolitan Life, and the absence of competitive bidding—also apparently violated even standards laid down by the NAM.

Mr. Meany cited the Eastern Massachusetts Street Railway Company plan, which he charged placed insurance policies with an insurance company of which it was the only client and installed its own officers as insurance company officers. Benefits to employees are "indefensibly meager," he said, and the insurance company paid back to the street railway company bigger dividends—used by the company as income—than it retained in premiums.

Another example cited by Meany involved the Reed Glass Company of Rochester, N.Y., which went bankrupt after failing to transmit to an

insurance company \$2991 withheld from employees' wages and \$2498 in its own contributions to pay premiums. Reed Glass also failed to transmit \$64,434 it had agreed to pay for a pension plan, Mr. Meany charged, before it went bankrupt.

"Whether you choose to call this * * * embezzlement, conversion or a breach of faith, the employees were the victims," he declared.

Mr. Meany cited a fourth case of abuse through an excessive check-off of \$600,000 from employees' wages to finance a group life insurance plan. The union sued the company and the suit was settled—part of the settlement being an agreement to restore "peaceable relations."

The president of the AFL-CIO emphasized that his purpose in citing these examples of management abuse was "not punitive" but to illustrate his appeal for total disclosure.

On specific legislation, Mr. Meany said that Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell now had endorsed major features of the Douglas-Murray-Ives bill that the AFL-CIO had also endorsed.

He asked that the Labor Department, rather than the Securities and Exchange Commission, be named as the reporting agency. This is also proposed in the revised Administration bill which was introduced after Mr. Mitchell's testimony before the Kennedy subcommittee.

THE COUNCIL TAKES ACTION

By HENRY C. FLEISHER

CAN a united labor movement—"big and unwieldy," in the opinion of its critics—move with dispatch to meet its problems?

The answer is a resounding "yes!"

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO demonstrated, during its recent meeting in Washington, that it is prepared to meet major problems with decisive action. What the Council did, through a series of unanimous votes, made labor history and newspaper headlines.

The problem was the question of corruption in the labor movement. The action—or rather the series of actions—showed once again that America's united labor movement intends to live up to the spirit and letter of its constitution: "... to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences. . . ."

In rapid succession, during the four-day meeting, the Council took these steps:

►Removed Dave Beck, head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, as a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and member of the Executive Council.

►Suspended the Laundry Workers International Union, on grounds that it had not "in good faith" complied with previous Council directives to "clean house." The Council will recommend expulsion of the Laundry Workers at the next AFL-CIO convention.

►Placed on probation for one year two other unions—the Allied Industrial Workers and the Distillery Workers. The Council said it was not satisfied that the two organizations had "fully complied" with the earlier Council order to clean out corruption, although it noted that partial correction of abuses had been accomplished.

►Adopted two more ethical practices codes recommended by the Ethical Practices Committee and a set of minimum accounting and financial controls recommended by the AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurers' Conference.

One code covers the question of

how unions should handle their funds, in terms of loans, investments, etc. The second code sets forth a description of the basic rights of an individual union member. Its twelve points cover such problems as union self-government, union elections, meetings and the voice of the rank and file members in union affairs.

Obviously, the most dramatic of the actions was the removal of Dave Beck from the Council. He had been given a hearing before the Council. After he left the Council chamber on the eighth floor of the AFL-CIO headquarters building, the Council deliberated for another forty-five minutes.

Then to a horde of newspapermen and television people, AFL-CIO President George Meany read the Council's statement. It pointed out that Beck had been "guilty of gross misuse of union funds entrusted to his care."

"There is not the faintest question in our minds * * * that he is completely guilty of violating the basic trade union law that union funds are a sacred trust, belonging to the members and to be protected and safeguarded for the interest of the members," the Council statement declared.

"Whether Beck stole the funds or borrowed them, the record shows he took advantage of his position as a trade union official to use money belonging to dues-paying members for his own personal gain and profit."

The day following Beck's removal, the Executive Council elected two new members. One of them was Secretary-Treasurer John F. English of the Teamsters, who is known as an opponent of Beck inside the Teamsters Union. The other new vice-president is President Karl Feller of the Brewery Workers, whose election filled a vacancy created by the death of Vice-President Willard S. Townsend last February.

Mr. English told the Council that the Teamsters will "wash our own dirty linen" and he added that "you and the rest of American labor are going to be proud of us again."



John English of the Teamsters became a member of the Council.

But not all the Council's time, by any means, was devoted to the problem of corruption in a few unions.

In six major statements, the Council spelled out American labor's attitudes on a number of legislative issues affecting trade unionists and the public as a whole.

A statement on the federal budget, for instance, pointed out that the American people "are prepared to support such expenditures" as are necessary to meet America's huge "responsibilities" at home and in the world.

"The AFL-CIO will not join the calamity howlers, the prophets of doom and gloom, who say that America cannot afford to spend \$72 billion," the Council declared. "American labor has more confidence in our nation's economic strength than the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, who would sell America short."

The Council attacked a series of severe cuts in the appropriation for the Department of Labor. Part at least of the blame for these cuts, it said, was due to "inept" handling by the Administration of the whole budget issue. It may be recalled that as soon as President Eisenhower presented his budget, high Cabinet of-

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officials were permitted to say that the funds should be cut. For many months, President Eisenhower himself was suggesting much the same thing.

On an issue closely allied with that of the budget fight, the question of federal aid for school construction, the Council urged full support for a \$1.5 billion appropriation to permit Uncle Sam to help the states build adequate schools.

"There is a tragic shortage of classrooms," the statement said, adding: "Only the resources of the federal government are adequate to meet the challenge." The states have been making heroic efforts, the Council noted, but they have been unable to decrease the backlog of needed school buildings.

The civil rights bill, which came out of the House Rules Committee and which faces a rocky path through Congress, won the Council's endorsement "without reservation." The AFL-CIO leaders noted that they would prefer "stronger action on civil rights matters"—but said the House bill represented a useful minimum program.

"The AFL-CIO calls upon the Eighty-fifth Congress, once and for



Karl Feller of Brewery Workers was elected to fill a vacancy.

all, to break the civil rights roadblock," the Council said. "Civil rights legislation must not be permitted to die again in 1957 as in years past."

In another action, the Council gave its renewed endorsement to the Douglas-Murray-Ives bill, which would require complete disclosure of the financial transactions and status of health, welfare and pension plans and

would impose criminal penalties for embezzlement from such plans.

The AFL-CIO has long supported this bill. When hearings opened in Congress late in May, Secretary of Labor Mitchell voiced favor for proposals very much like those in the bill endorsed by the AFL-CIO.

The Council called for minimum wage law extension to cover additional millions of workers now without the benefits of the law. The Administration's proposals, the Council said, are in many ways "grossly inadequate" and "disappointing." It urged Congress to broaden the law's coverage "without further delay."

The last of the series of legislative pronouncements called on Congress to pass the Morse bill for government construction of a high dam at Hells Canyon. At the present time the Idaho Power Company has authority to build three low dams, which students of hydro-electric power say will never fully utilize the potential resources of the Snake River, where the canyon is located. It has since come to light that Idaho Power has sought a "fast tax writeoff"—the equivalent of an interest-free loan—to build dams.

The Executive Council will meet again in Chicago on August 12.

Dubinsky Saluted

THOUSANDS of members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union jammed New York's vast Madison Square Garden on June 13 to celebrate David Dubinsky's twenty-fifth anniversary as the widely esteemed and exceedingly successful president of that great labor organization.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and other speakers paid tribute to the dedicated and brilliant leader of the ILGWU who had taken over as president during the depths of the depression, when the union had few members and was financially bankrupt, and had carried it to the heights.

Dave Dubinsky has fought vigorously and consistently over the years against Communists, Fascists and all other kinds of totalitarians. He has been an outstanding advocate of clean and responsible unionism—"unionism with a heart." He was a key figure in bringing about the AFL-CIO merger. To him unionism has always been a great, wonderful cause, a crusade for human betterment—never a business.

In an editorial entitled "DD's Day," the New York Post said:

"Dubinsky looms steadily larger in the annals of U.S. labor in terms of initiative, imagination and vision. Though other men have won bigger press notices, few have imparted as much passion and poetry to the battle for decency and democracy."



ILGWU President Dubinsky at his desk in union headquarters.

Toward Proper Health Care

By KATHERINE ELLICKSON

*Assistant Director,
AFL-CIO Department of Social Security*

WHEN illness struck soon after retirement, Bill Parker's hospital and surgical insurance had ended. His pension could not be stretched to cover \$250 due for the operation, \$1100 for two months in the hospital and \$500 for two months of nursing home care. His savings were eaten away and his hopes for a secure old age were shattered.

Under legislation proposed by the AFL-CIO, all these expenses would have been met from the old-age and survivors' insurance trust fund to which Bill Parker had contributed for years.

Misfortunes like this occur all too commonly. Group insurance normally ends with the last paycheck. Retired couples and survivors not only find their income reduced; they are left without hospital and surgical insurance which, thanks to our unions, is now customary in private industry.

Medical bills loom as so great a threat that the doctor is often called in too late, and needless suffering and expense result.

Typical medical charges are indeed high compared to current old-age and survivors' insurance benefits. An appendix operation is apt to cost around \$200 (surgeon's fee, \$100 or more; hospital room and board in a ward for four or five days, \$60; and \$30 or more for operating room expenses, etc.). Even less than \$200 eats up three months of the average benefit of a retired worker.

Or consider the young widow with three children now skimping on an average total benefit of \$136 a month. That comes to little more than \$1 a day per person and has to cover food, housing, clothing, heat, medicine, dental care and many other necessities. Even if she stays well, where will she find the extra \$40 or \$50 that may be charged for removing the tonsils of each child?

Some beneficiaries do not have to rely entirely on their government pay-



KATHERINE ELLICKSON

ments. Many union members receive private pensions too. But more than two-fifths of the families headed by someone aged 65 or over had family incomes of less than \$2000 in 1955. One-fifth received less than \$1000, according to the Census Bureau. For many of these people, an operation and a long stay in the hospital mean great financial distress.

Individual private health insurance is too expensive for these Americans, even if available at their age or in their area. Some retired union members can continue group health insurance, but more than half the persons aged 65 or over carry no form of health insurance at all. Others have very poor protection.

Hospital insurance through Blue Cross, on an individual basis, costs over \$30 on the average per year for one person and over \$65 for a family. Surgical benefits through Blue Shield cost almost half as much. Private insurance companies often charge still more and have more restricted benefits.

If the AFL-CIO program is enacted, all aged persons covered by old-age and survivors' insurance will

have paid-up insurance for life for hospital, nursing home and surgical care. Widows of persons covered by OASI with surviving children under 18 will have similar protection.

In addition, the AFL-CIO is proposing more adequate monthly payments under old-age, survivors' and disability insurance. In order to reflect rising wage levels, the earnings ceiling for benefit and contribution purposes would become \$6000 a year instead of \$4200. Benefits would in general be raised 10 per cent through providing that the primary insurance amount will be 60 per cent of the first \$110 of average monthly earnings, plus 22 per cent of the remainder up to \$500, with a minimum \$5 increase.

The family maximum would be increased at the lowest and highest levels, and all beneficiaries on the rolls would receive at least \$5 more per family. One additional drop-out year would be permitted for every seven years in covered employment, added to the present provision for dropping five years of low earnings in calculating benefits.

These proposals are important, but this article is devoted to describing how the new program for hospital, nursing home and surgical benefits will work.

Anyone eligible for old-age and survivors' benefits will also be eligible for the new medical benefits. So will persons who are still working who would be eligible for OASI payments if they applied. Women aged 62 to 64 will be able to receive the new benefits without thereby forfeiting their right to full retirement amounts.

Once a person's eligibility has been established by the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance, he will receive a card to present as proof of coverage to any hospital, nursing home or surgeon meeting specified broad standards or professional qualifications. Most hospitals and surgeons will readily meet these tests.

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(Tuberculosis and mental hospitals are excluded since so many are publicly financed.)

Only those nursing homes will qualify which provide skilled nursing service and which are operated in connection with a hospital or under the direction of doctors. They will either have to be licensed by a state or attain standards to be established by the U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Care in qualified hospitals for any ailment will be covered if the need for such care is certified by a physician. The complete cost of all normal hospital services will be paid by the old-age and survivors' trust fund up to a total of sixty days in a year.

The bill, with the doctor's certification, will be submitted by the hospital to the federal agency for payment just as it is now submitted to Blue Cross.

Well-established methods of determining proper charges by the hospitals will be followed in negotiating agreements and in checking bills. Ordinarily this will mean a flat charge per day of patient care, as under most Blue Cross plans. The hospital care covered includes a semi-private room and all the hospital services, medical care, drugs and appliances which the hospital customarily furnishes its bed patients.

NURSING home care will be paid for if the patient is transferred to the nursing home from the hospital on a doctor's certification and for the same conditions as necessitated hospitalization. The nursing home care will be paid for up to a total period, including the hospital stay, of not more than 120 days in a year.

The surgical services embraced by the program may include surgery provided in a hospital, or in case of an emergency or minor surgery, in the outpatient department of a hospital or in a doctor's office. A person will be able to select any surgeon who is certified by the American Board of Surgery or is a member of the American College of Surgeons. In cases of emergency, this requirement will be waived.

Other exceptions will be permitted by regulation when qualified surgeons are unavailable. Thus general practitioners will under certain circumstances and in certain areas receive payment for surgical services though not for other types of medical treat-



The lack of protection against misfortune worries our older citizens. Group insurance usually ends when a worker retires. To meet the situation, the labor movement is pushing for legislative action.

ment. Oral surgery will be paid for in a hospital and may be performed by a dentist.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare will have authority to negotiate agreements directly with qualified hospitals and nursing homes relating to services and charges. If he prefers, he will be permitted to utilize the services of private non-profit organizations such as Blue Cross.

In arranging and paying for surgical services, he may similarly operate directly or utilize the services of an organization authorized by surgeons and physicians to act for them. Direct service prepayment plans can be included.

Our unions know only too well how some doctors and hospitals pile up extra charges above those met by cash insurance payments of a specified amount. We do not want this new program to encourage further inflation of medical costs. The agreements are to provide, therefore, that the rates of payment for the contracted services shall constitute full payment for them, as under the program for dependents of members of the armed forces.

Because doctors are very fearful of

possible lay control, the AFL-CIO bill specifically states that nothing in it shall be interpreted to give the Secretary authority over the internal management of hospitals or nursing homes or over the practice of medicine. However, necessary checks can be made to assure that the trust fund does not pay for services which were not in fact performed.

This program is soundly based on experience under voluntary and government programs.

Private prepayment plans for medical care insurance have grown mightily in the last decade, although too limited in benefits and extent. Already 116,000,000 Americans have some coverage for hospital care, 101,000,000 have some form of prepaid surgical insurance and 4,000,000 belong to group plans that provide comprehensive medical care on a prepayment basis.

Most hospitals have agreements with Blue Cross plans. Most surgeons are willing to accept payments from Blue Shield, though not always without charging extra.

Both groups are cooperating in providing the civilian medical care to which more than 2,000,000 dependents of members of the armed forces

are eligible under the Dependents' Medical Care Act of 1956. Agreements have been negotiated for this purpose between representatives of government and the hospitals and doctors in all but two states.

Bills are being paid throughout the United States for hospitalization, medical and surgical care incident to hospitalization, maternity care and certain other forms of outpatient care. Payments are usually made through Blue Cross, Blue Shield or an insurance agency, but sometimes directly. The problems encountered are being handled successfully.

The old-age and survivors' insurance program itself has fully demonstrated the efficiency of nationwide pooling of contributions by employees, employers and the self-employed to meet certain risks. Its operations are much more economical than private insurance with its hundreds of record systems, many high salaries and large sales staffs.

These new health care benefits for the aged and survivors are not too

expensive. The charges will be spread over all persons covered by old-age and survivors' insurance since they all stand to gain sooner or later. Averaged to the year 2020, in the customary manner, the cost will equal one-half of 1 per cent of payrolls. A \$4000-a-year man will pay \$10 extra a year; the worker earning \$2000 will pay \$5 more, matched by the employer.

The combined package of OASI improvements endorsed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on recommendation of the Social Security Committee would cost about twice as much. In order to maintain a sound system of financing, which labor has always favored, it is proposed that contribution rates be increased accordingly, adding $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent each for employees and employers and $\frac{3}{8}$ per cent for the self-employed.

This particular package of amendments does not accomplish all the long-range goals set forth in AFL-CIO resolutions on social security. These propose insurance for all types

of medical service, including hospital, home and office care by the general practitioner. We want such health insurance for the disabled and indeed for everyone in covered employment.

But the modest program set forth would meet some of the greatest current needs. It would give immediate aid to more than 12,000,000 aged citizens, widows and orphans. It would lift heavy financial loads from many hospitals and assistance agencies. Even our collective bargaining plans would gain, since they would no longer have to shoulder the cost of continued health benefits for retired members.

Organized labor has pushed the major improvements made in social insurance since the basic act was passed in 1935. To some people this new program may seem startling, but it has been developed in response to the needs of working people and out of their experience.

American labor will not rest until its goals for proper health care and higher benefits have been achieved.

Schnitzler Hails No-Raid Pact Record

Reports Agreement Working Very Well

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler reported last month that 122 cases had been processed under the No-Raiding Agreement of the AFL-CIO as of May 15. The plan went into effect July 9, 1954.

"The experience of this nearly three-year period has been highly satisfactory," Mr. Schnitzler said. "When this agreement was negotiated, the committee felt it provided a sound, practical, common-sense approach to labor peace. Time and test prove this belief was well-founded.

"The No-Raiding Agreement provides us with a constructive, mature and effective way of solving disputes which arise in this field."

Mr. Schnitzler said that fifty-three cases had been processed since December 5, 1955, the day when the AFL and the CIO united in that armory in New York City.

Of the 122 cases handled, twenty-nine were sent to the impartial um-



Secretary Schnitzler sees pact as mature way to solve disputes.

pire, David L. Cole, for final and binding determination. Eighty-eight cases were resolved through negotia-

tion and were not sent to Mr. Cole. Of the twenty-nine cases sent to the impartial umpire, six were withdrawn for further conferences between the unions involved, twenty decisions were handed down and three cases are still pending at the negotiating level.

"The agreement has definitely been effective," Mr. Cole said. "There has been some increase in activity, and some of the cases get more and more difficult. On the whole, I am highly pleased with the compliance we have received. Most unions, of course, don't want to be charged with the stigma of raiding.

"We have accomplished at least as much as we ever hoped. In its area, the No-Raiding Agreement has worked out very well."

There are 103 unions which have signed the pact, thus binding themselves to refrain from raiding any other signers. There are 138 unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

BEWARE THIS FRONT

COMMUNIST prestige and influence have sunk to the lowest point in history. Decent, intelligent people in America and throughout the world have been shocked and disgusted by the brutal savagery with which Soviet Russia crushed the heroic revolt of the Hungarian people for national independence. Even before that, the Communist world was rocked to its foundations by the much-belated admissions from the Kremlin's rulers that their master and teacher, the late Joseph Stalin, had been a power-mad, ruthless murderer.

In a desperate attempt to regain a position of influence, Communists everywhere, under instructions and direction from Moscow, are frantically seeking to overcome the moral ostracism which the above events inflicted on them.

Here in the United States, this effort has assumed national proportions in the organization of a new Communist front, misnamed the "American Forum for Socialist Education."

The true nature of this front was revealed in the Communist Party's organ, the *Daily Worker*. In its issue of May 14, 1957, the *Daily Worker* editorially hailed the foundation of the forum as "especially welcome" and boasted that it "also in-

cludes two leading Communists." The same editorial further disclosed that "the position of the Communists with regard to developments of this kind was set forth in the resolution adopted overwhelmingly at their recent national convention."

Knowing these facts, American labor will shun like a plague this self-styled "American Forum for Socialist Education." Like all other Communist fronts, its principal goal is to mislead and entrap well-meaning Americans into serving the cause of Communist subversion and the interests of Soviet imperialism.

This goal will be thwarted once the "American Forum for Socialist Education" is clearly and widely identified as a Communist front. No self-respecting American trade unionist will then have anything to do with it.

In the past the Communists have organized many fronts whose success depended on how cleverly they were able to disguise the true nature of the enterprise. In some instances they were able to deceive people with a liberal viewpoint—at least temporarily—into joining. In every instance, however, the fronts died of exposure—and so will this latest one.

THE O'SULLIVAN STRIKE

By L. S. BUCKMASTER
President, United Rubber Workers

IN Salem, Massachusetts, the Central Labor Union received a communication about a strike taking place in far-off Winchester, Virginia. The letter asked the labor body not to buy O'Sullivan heels, the product of a company which had forced 422 workers out on strike and which had steadfastly refused to negotiate with the union.

"Why not give these rubber workers some real help?" the Salem central body asked.

Officers and delegates took a day off, divided themselves into teams, and asked the owners of shoe repair shops in six cities and eight surrounding towns not to buy O'Sullivan heels.

Since January, when the United Rubber Workers declared its first nationwide boycott, unions of every type and description from California to Connecticut have pitched in to help the URW boycott effort.

Brewery Workers' President Karl Feller, for example, mailed an O'Sullivan strike leaflet to every one of his 60,000 members. A Textile Workers' local union in Front Royal, Virginia, voted a dollar-a-week dues increase to aid the Winchester strikers. The presidents of nearly every international union, large or small, have written their affiliates asking for support of the strike. Aid has come from independent unions like the United Mine Workers and the railroad brotherhoods.

The support the O'Sullivan strikers are receiving is one of the greatest demonstrations of labor unity in recent times. Committees operating throughout the nation report not a single union door has been closed to them, and they invariably receive support.

There is a twofold reason for labor's spirited action. One is sympathy for the embattled strikers who have suffered humiliating injustices over the years. The other is the grim realization that if a union-hat-



L. S. BUCKMASTER

ing corporation like O'Sullivan can successfully use the Taft-Hartley Act to break a union, there is nothing to stop like-minded employers from attempting to use the same formula.

The O'Sullivan strike story starts with people like the Smith brothers. There is Arthur Smith who helped build the plant and his brother Asa who remembers starting at O'Sullivan twenty-eight years ago for fifteen cents an hour. Wages have improved since then, but they still average between forty cents and sixty cents less than those paid in most organized heel plants.

Benefits like holiday pay are unheard of. Striker Charles Rittenour said bitterly:

"What Christmas meant to me was a hole in my paycheck."

A woman striker, Alma Palmer, said that during Christmas time the foreman in her department put on a little party.

"He would buy out of his own pocket a can of nuts and a plastic spoon, and we could have all the nuts we could get in one dip of the

spoon. This was a lot different from the big parties the company threw for its salaried employees at the country club."

Incidents like this are petty, but they give a good illustration of what O'Sullivan is like.

Striker Palmer also recalls walking two and one-half miles to work, knowing that there was no work available, but also knowing that if she didn't show up she was liable to be fired. There was Ernest Wise-carver, who worked straight through on his shift without time for lunch or even time to go to the men's room.

While some O'Sullivan workers were making just a little over \$2000 a year ("Our diet on my pay was chiefly beans and cornbread," explained striker Charles Cornwell), the company was paying big-time money to its officers. Company President Vincent Catozella made \$40,000 in one year, while nineteen officers and board members netted a total of \$180,000 in 1955.

WHEN O'Sullivan workers voted 355 to 2 to join the United Rubber Workers, they were completely fed up with their lot. This memory of what things were like before the union has carried the strikers through a year of belt-tightening and hardship. Marion Miller, Sr., president of striking Local 511, put it this way:

"We know what conditions were like before the union, and we never want to go back to that again. We'll stick it out for as long as it takes to win our fight."

The issue today is that of keeping the union. That is what the strike is all about.

The part of the O'Sullivan story which has national significance for all labor began just after the strike was declared when company representatives started approaching strikers to persuade them to go back to

work. Signed statements by unionists quote company men as saying O'Sullivan intended to use the Taft-Hartley Act to get rid of the union.

The evidence that the company had no intention of bargaining with the union, but instead was sitting on its hands waiting to use Taft-Hartley, began to pile up as the company cold-shouldered union peace overtures. The union urged arbitration of the dispute. It asked for federal mediation and conciliation, and even a panel of clergymen to act as peacemakers. Each time the company answered with a flat no. In May, as predicted, the company petitioned for decertification.

HAD there been no provision in the Taft-Hartley Act which allows strikebreakers to vote on whether or not they want a union but denies the right to vote for strikers, there is some doubt as to whether O'Sullivan would have been encouraged to prolong the strike. The O'Sullivan strike is a dramatic illustration of how the Taft-Hartley Act promotes and prolongs industrial disputes.

Since the boycott has been in effect, the company has had to take in its belt. By June the most con-



Pickets take a coffee break. This strike is a dramatic illustration of how the one-sided Taft-Hartley Act promotes and prolongs industrial disputes.

servative estimates put the production force at nearly 100 fewer workers than at the time of the start of the strike.

The strikers are in good spirits. As for the boycott, President Miller

of the O'Sullivan union declares:

"We never realized how many friends we had throughout the country until the boycott started. With this kind of wonderful cooperation, we feel certain that we can't lose."

Who Is Doing the Inflating?

By **MORRIS PIZER**

President, United Furniture Workers

WORKING men and women feel a pinch in their pocket-books, but the big business propagandists are peddling a pat answer for the nation's economic troubles.

"It's all the fault of the unions for demanding wage increases," these propagandists say.

Big business interests are hard at work selling the public the myth that the country is in the midst of a general inflation. What are the facts?

The rise in prices generally cited to prove that we have inflation is a result of price boosts made by the few large corporations in the key basic industries. We face a situation where prices are up and there is too much stuff in the warehouses and not enough going to the consumers.

Yet prices continue to go up, not down—and the workers are expected to sacrifice the wage increases they need to pay the higher price tags.

We need the spotlight of a public investigation into the wage-price-profit-investment policies of the big concerns in the basic industries. Instead of aid to bankers in the form of higher interest rates, we need help for the middle-income family seeking decent housing. We need an expanded low-income public housing program to fill in the gap caused by the drop in construction which followed the rise in interest.

Wage-earners can be thankful that a strong and united labor movement is on the national scene.

Labor has exploded the "inflation" myth. Higher wages mean more purchasing power and real prosperity.

A healthy economy depends upon the power of trade unions to secure



MORRIS PIZER

wages and conditions to enable America's working people to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

Helping People in Trouble

By JOHN BROPHY

Member, AFL-CIO Community Services Committee

THE objective of the AFL-CIO community services program is to encourage and train union members for active participation in community life. To realize this objective, the AFL-CIO has created a Community Services Committee. It has authorized similar committees at state and local levels.

Through its national offices the community services staff is constantly developing new activities and projects. In many places functioning community service committees are carrying out year-round programs of education, action and service.

The important point to be stressed in reviewing this key activity of the merged labor movement is that its community services program is based on cooperation, not competition—on integration, not isolation.

What does this mean? It means that in seeking the things we hold in common with social work, organized labor will merge its manpower, energies and resources through accepted community channels of action.

An evaluation of how well labor and the family service agencies have measured up to their responsibilities would be positive and encouraging. But a great deal remains to be done. An indication of how much remains to be done is provided by a recent study of referrals made to and from a labor representative on the staff of a Midwestern united fund.

This study revealed that, out of 295 cases referred through union channels, 280 were concerned largely with the need for material assistance and were subsequently referred to the county welfare department.

In itself this is not surprising. Normally the most pressing problems are those involving food, shelter, clothing and medical care. And to receive 280 such cases in an industrial community which has a union membership of over 40,000 is not unusual.

But we must go a step further. The remaining handful of referrals were



JOHN BROPHY

classified as "family counseling," "child services" and "recreation." These three classifications accounted for about eight per cent of the 295 referrals made.

I believe it is fairly valid to come to some tentative conclusions after speculating on these statistics.

First, it would seem that few union members in this particular Midwestern city have personal or family problems other than financial.

Second, union members did not see their union as a source of referral on problems such as marital discord, adoptions, alcoholism, emotional disturbances and similar difficulties.

Third, they were referred through other channels such as personal and neighborhood contacts.

Fourth, they did not know of the existence of family service agencies.

Fifth, they found help, assistance and counsel in places other than those provided by community social agencies.

A most optimistic combination of these five conclusions, plus a personal experience that spans a good many years, leads me to a sixth conclusion.

It is this: There are people in that Midwestern community who needlessly carry heavy burdens which could be lightened by the skills and the sympathetic and understanding help of family service agencies.

A recent pamphlet underscores this conclusion. It points out that in one Western city 40 per cent of the citizens polled had little or no idea of the available health and welfare facilities in their community. The pamphlet then adds that many individuals remain in need not because other people do not care but because they do not know where to refer a friend or neighbor who requires help.

Most of us have some idea of the functions and worth of recreational and leisure-time agencies. The settlement house, the summer camp and the youth organization have a certain visibility immediately perceived by even the casual observer. Not so with the family counseling service.

I do not believe the interpretation of what a family service agency is and what it does and how it works with people can be accomplished by publicity alone. A large part of the program to interpret the family service agency must rest on intensive contacts with many groups. Specialized work must be done with possible points of referral such as the school system, religious leaders, other social agencies and such community groups as organized labor.

LET me quote from a pamphlet sponsored jointly by the AFL-CIO community services program and the National Family Service Association. It says:

"There are a number of ways local unions can publicize the work of family service agencies. A good start is to invite a local agency representative to speak at a union meeting. Several short films suitable for showing at a membership meeting are also available. In addition, pamphlets and posters describing the functions of a

family service agency can usually be obtained from local agencies or your Community Chest or United Fund.

"The best way local unions can assist members in using the facilities of family service agencies is to have trained union counselors. Since union counselors are rank-and-file members who have received training in the use of community health and welfare agencies, they can be especially helpful in explaining and referring fellow union members to the best sources of community help.

"Because most family agencies are affiliated with a Community Chest or United Fund, the annual Chest or Fund campaign appeal is an excellent time to remind members that counseling services are as necessary to the well-being of the community as other social and recreational facilities.

"AFL-CIO believes all social agencies should be representative of the community. In this spirit many union members have been asked to serve on boards and committees of their community's family service agencies. Such board membership is an important responsibility, and the community services committee of the local central labor body should make every effort to get qualified and interested members to serve in this capacity.

"A good family service agency depends on a number of factors—trained personnel, a sufficient operating budget and community acceptance.

"The AFL-CIO community services program can help local family service organizations maintain high standards of service by taking an active interest in the work of these vitally needed agencies."

THIS series of recommended actions represents more than a union-sponsored public relations and referral program. It represents organized labor's belief that family service agencies are an integral part of the community and that, directly or indirectly, they serve the total welfare.

While the AFL-CIO has its immediate welfare program administered through its Community Services Committee on various levels, it also has its broad legislative social welfare program. This deals with such issues as low-cost housing, slum clearance, improved social security legislation, minimum wages, adequate education

facilities and many other welfare measures.

The Family Service Association has also taken steps to meet a long-felt need to strengthen the family as a basic institution of democratic society by formulating a body of social principles to serve as a guide for national and local action of its various units. These social principles reinforce the case worker and the local agencies in dealing with individual social distress.

The Family Service Association is concerned with institutions and forces that affect the quality of family life, holding that fundamental conditions favorable to the attainment of satisfying and effective family life include:

1. Opportunity for self-support and financial independence or, when these are lacking or cannot be utilized, the means for maintaining decent standards of living.

2. Availability of housing within the means of the family and compatible with wholesome family living.

3. Availability of adequate services for the prevention and treatment of

illness, whether physical or mental.

4. Educational opportunities for children, youths and adults.

5. Leisure-time resources for the attainment of well-balanced living.

6. Opportunity to develop religious and moral values according to individual beliefs, and the safeguarding of rights to civil and religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution.

Ideas for action are developed by its Committee on Public Issues, of which I am a member. The committee reports from time to time, indicating the kind of action that individual agencies might take on various legislative welfare matters. The Family Service Association thus becomes an influential agency in helping to create the climate of opinion necessary to win public support of adequate social legislation.

Our AFL-CIO Community Services Committee, in conjunction with other voluntary agencies, is an important factor in strengthening the social and legislative base of our democratic society.

He Learned the Hard Way

By **ENOCH R. RUST**

*International Representative,
United Glass and Ceramic Workers
of North America*

THE word "unionism" is a very important one, and I sometimes wonder if we, as union men and women, shouldn't step back into the past and refresh our memories as to the true meaning of the word. This can be done easily by inspecting the foundation on which our labor movement was built.

It is unfortunate that often a tragedy has to take place before workers will realize the importance of unionism and brotherly love. Why should a worker have to be kicked in the pants by the boss before he realizes his need for a class association with his fellow workers?

Sometimes this bleak realization comes too late—often after he is out in the street with no one to whom to he can turn.

Five years ago I contacted a worker. I urged him to sign a union card. He just wouldn't hear if it. It took him thirty minutes to tell

me just how good the company was to him, how he had security and all the other benefits that the union could secure for him.

Recently I went back, thinking he might have had a change of heart. He had a change of heart, all right; he had a very sad and striking story. He said:

"Mr. Rust, you were right five years ago. Soon after your departure from here, the company kicked me out. I hurt my back and could no longer do the heavy job I had been doing, so they got rid of me."

In my work I hear this type of story often, but always too late. Mankind doesn't seem to change much. It still takes personal tragedies to awaken us to the realities of life.

Maybe we are motivated too much by selfishness and greed. We should exert a little of our strength to practice a bit more tolerance and understanding toward one another.



President Gompers working in his New York office in the early days of the American Federation of Labor.

In the Time of Sam Gompers

By BORIS SHISHKIN

THE A. F. of L. IN THE TIME OF GOMPERS.
By Philip Taft. 506 pages. Harper, \$6.75.

WRITTEN by the foremost labor historian of our day, this first volume of Professor Taft's monumental two-volume history of the American Federation of Labor is a self-contained book presenting, for the first time, the story of the rise of the national labor movement in America and of its coming of age under the stewardship of Samuel Gompers.

Scholarly and meticulously documented, yet highly readable, this account of the first four decades in the

life of the national labor federation, starting with the formation of the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions in 1881, carries us from its beginnings and early embattled struggles through its formative years and emergence as a vital force on the national scene.

During this span of time, except for one year, the movement was guided by the hand of Gompers.

The volume ends with the passing of Gompers, who died on December 3, 1924, in El Paso, Texas, after attending, despite a long and grave illness, the meeting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Mexico.

Viewed narrowly, the story of the A. F. of L. could be that of its components, the individual national, international and local trade and federal unions. While Professor Taft weaves successfully into the pattern of his story the vital threads tracing the significant role of each constituent union, his work presents a broader view of the A. F. of L. as an independent institution, as a distinct entity. Analytically, and with many penetrating insights, he examines the complex of problems, conflicts, policies and activities of the A. F. of L. as the unifier and the spokesman of the major segment of the organized

workers on the North American continent.

The book details the step-by-step progress in the building of the house of labor, highlighting the vision, skill and dedication on the part of its builders. Its one theme is the internal structural design that went into the making of an enduring human institution.

It tells how the early stresses and strains were overcome, how new ones developed and were met and how, in time, the structure was being adapted to changing conditions.

Another theme running through the volume is the emergence of the peculiarly American character of our trade union movement under the guidance of Gompers and his associates.

The movement's repeated collisions with philosophical and political champions of collectivist doctrine left it determined to concentrate its resources on winning the battle on the economic front, primarily through collective bargaining, and to limit its involvement in political activity.

PROVIDING the background to the story and at times emerging as the dominant theme is the fierce and bitter character of industrial warfare resulting from the stubborn intransigence of the American industrialist confronted with the unionization of his workers. In contrasting relief stand the statesmanlike efforts of those management leaders who were intent on bridging the gap separating management from the workers and on providing jointly the tools for genuine union-management cooperation.

As a student and teacher of labor history, the author must have struggled against many compulsions to intrude upon the story with his own comments, conclusions and generalizations about its sequences and its *dramatis personae*. But wisely Professor Taft has followed closely the path he laid out for himself—of writing a history of the American Federation of Labor in the time of Gompers. The result is a straightforward, factual and richly documented account of events, unfolding their sequence with logic, simplicity and force.

To fit the great wealth of raw data he had at his disposal into such an imposing orderly whole, and to un-

ravel so ingeniously the intricacies of overlapping themes competing for attention, as Professor Taft has done, is indeed a masterpiece of organization.

Many facets of the story cast a timely and significant light on current problems with which organized labor is confronted. Always fair, but never a partisan student of labor, Professor Taft does not gloss over the incidents of labor history to which labor can hardly point with pride. Yet by placing such events in their proper setting of conflict and even violence on the industrial scene of the time, the author explains more by merely bringing out the relevant facts than he would have as an expounder or pleader.

What is more, he details the notable record of the A. F. of L. in rallying support for defense of civil liberties of dissenters and victims of persecution in cases ranging from the notorious Haymarket affair to the Mooney-Billings case.

As pointed out by Taft, "the A. F. of L. always fought for the complete extension of civil rights, and throughout its history protested against persecution of minorities and political dissidents."

Foreshadowing a major theme of his second volume, the author subjects to a searching analysis the trying problems of organizational structure of unions with which the American Federation of Labor was

beset in its formative as well as later years.

"Contrary to the general impression," he concludes, "the heads of the Federation were not, on principle, either in favor of or opposed to industrial organization, or to the organization of the unskilled. * * * Gompers was convinced that all workers were ultimately organizable * * * [and] that eventually all workers would find their way into a labor organization."

THE story of the A. F. of L. in the time of Gompers is a story of growth and progress. Harried at every step by its own meager funds and limited resources, and by open warfare against it conducted by organized management, as well as by frequent hostility of the government and the courts, the labor movement suffered many setbacks and reverses. But in the face of all these obstacles along its path, it carried on its mission—helping the working people of America toward greater freedom and justice and better welfare in a truly American way and under the inspiring leadership of its architect, Gompers.

Professor Taft's account of the A. F. of L.'s first four decades is "must" reading for every student of labor and of American history.

It is also "must" reading for every unionist who wants to know the whys and the wherefores of the institution he is helping to build.



Professor Taft discusses his new book with President Meany after presenting first copy of the volume to AFL-CIO head.

WHERE EMPLOYERS ERR



IUD-sponsored conference was held in Washington's Mayflower Hotel.

SOME 600 trade unionists came to Washington last month to take a look at the state of labor-management relations throughout the nation. They found that many improvements are long overdue. The assembled trade unionists were delegates to the first annual industrial relations conference of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

The blame for many of the shortcomings in union-company relations was pinned on the Taft-Hartley Act. Industry's double standard of ethics was criticized. As for inflationary trends, the policies of management are responsible, it was pointed out.

Keynoting the meeting, Walter P. Reuther, president of the Industrial Union Department, charged that in 95 per cent of collective bargaining sessions "the economic facts are not at the bargaining table."

"Too often, in too many places," Mr. Reuther said, "these essential economic facts are hidden behind the economic iron curtains, because industry does not want collective bargaining in the light of the facts."

AFL-CIO President George Meany, speaking at the concluding luncheon session, said:

"We've got to have a clean labor movement in these United States—not only because we think it's proper, not only because of the paramount obligation to serve the workers. You can't serve them with dirty unions."

He emphasized that the maintenance of clean unions is important not only to the members of the organized labor movement but to the country as a whole and "for the future of our economy."

President Meany told the conference that the executive board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters ought to move rapidly to "kick" Dave Beck out of office.

"This man does not belong in the trade union movement," he said. "He doesn't belong in it today. He has no right to stay in it until next September. He should get out tomorrow."

A committee to counsel President Eisenhower on the real facts of inflation and the wage-price relationship was suggested by David J. McDonald, president of the Steelworkers. He said he would like the committee to include heads of "big unions which deal with big companies." He mentioned as examples of the unions to be represented on the committee his own Steelworkers, the United Auto Workers, the Carpenters, the Miners and a rail brotherhood. Their opposites in industry would comprise the balance of the committee, Mr. McDonald said.

James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the IUD, reviewed ten years of changes in labor relations under the Taft-Hartley Act, especially as they affected electrical manufacturing. Mr. Carey, who is president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, noted that President Eisenhower had failed to keep a 1952 campaign pledge to remove a T-H provision allowing scabs to vote in NLRB elections.

Of anti-union activity, Mr. Carey had this to say:

"Actually, it takes a pretty thick employer to get himself caught these days. He has to be brazen and loud. And he must do his dirty work himself for the Eisenhower Board to take

action. For the employer who likes direct action, the threat that implies economic terror, the Taft-Hartley Law provides the license for engaging in coercion with impunity."

The white-collar worker has too often sold his birthright for a mess of flattery and paternalistic goo, declared President Joseph A. Beirne of the Communication Workers.

"There is no doubt that he has lost in economic position," he said. "Yet this is the area in which paternalism is strongest."

Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, scoffed at those who make a "moral" issue of state "right to work" laws under the guise of aiding workers.

"I might point out," he said, "that a man has a moral duty to support that from which he benefits. And if the issue is one of morals, it should be left to the moral conscience of the parties to collective bargaining. It is certainly not in the American tradition for the government to decide the moral codes to be followed by individuals."

William Pollock, president of the Textile Workers Union of America, said that the nation is beginning to realize what his members perceived long ago—that the crisis in the textile industry is not merely regional.

"There has been a constant shrinkage in the number of mills, in employment and profits," he declared.

Albert Whitehouse, IUD director, who acted as the conference chairman, called for a Congressional investigation of the Eisenhower NLRB's administration of the Taft-Hartley Act.

PARLEY ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ANOTHER "first" was scored by the AFL-CIO when it convened its First National Trade Union Conference on Civil Rights, to implement the merged labor movement's policy of non-discrimination. The sessions were held in Washington's Shoreham Hotel.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, the keynoter, outlined the task of rooting out discrimination, both in employment and in the ranks of the labor movement itself, and called on all affiliates to ready the tools for getting this urgent job done well.

"The AFL-CIO stands in the foremost ranks in the defense of civil rights and of human rights as indispensable to freedom and to true democracy," Mr. Meany said.

He pointed out that the philosophy of equal rights is "the cornerstone of the constitution of the merged AFL-CIO."

"We are met here today," Mr. Meany told the conference, "not to pass resolutions or to make declarations. We are met here today for one purpose alone—to counsel and advise together on the best ways and means of putting the policy of non-discrimination into practice. The question before this group is: What are the best ways and means of getting the job done?"

"This conference will make no binding decisions. It will lay down no binding rules. What it will do is to give us an opportunity to counsel together and to pool our best considered judgment in order to help find the best way toward our common goal of non-discrimination in employment and in union membership."

President Meany announced the appointment of Charles S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, as chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, succeeding AFL-CIO Vice-President James B. Carey, who resigned several weeks ago.

More than 100 delegates immediately got down to the "ways and means" of implementing the non-discrimination policy as Mr. Meany had recommended. The delegates



New chairman of AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee is Charles S. Zimmerman.

represented international and national unions and state central bodies.

Boris Shishkin, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, explained the procedure set up by the Civil Rights Committee, with the approval of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, for the handling of complaints of discrimination and to effect compliance with the AFL-CIO policy.

A number of subjects were discussed thoroughly. These included operation of civil rights machinery in national and international unions, civil rights problems of local unions, and civil rights committees of state and local central bodies. Dealing with problems of discrimination in employment, the conference discussed non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements and ways of eliminating discrimination in hiring, promotion, tenure, job training

and apprenticeship. The union representatives in attendance also examined the details of practical administration of non-discrimination clauses, use of the grievance procedure and possible resort to the President's Committee on Government Contracts and to the existing state fair employment practice agencies as means of preventing discrimination.

Mr. Zimmerman, the new chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the merged labor movement is a leader of long standing in the fight against discrimination. He is chairman of the executive board of the Labor Advisory Committee of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination and a member of the Mayor's Commission on Inter-Group Relations in New York City. He is also chairman of the Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, a subcommittee of the Mayor's Commission.

In addition, he is serving as chairman of the Anti-Discrimination Department of the Jewish Labor Committee and as a member of the board of trustees of the National Urban League and of the board of directors of the Legal and Educational Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Zimmerman has been manager of the Dressmakers' Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union since 1933 and has served as one of the vice-presidents of the international since 1934.

He pledged that he would devote his best efforts to the chairmanship of the Civil Rights Committee and called for fullest cooperation of all AFL-CIO affiliates in its vital work.

Are you buying a home?

BEFORE you sign on the dotted line, make sure the house was built properly—in other words, that it was built by thoroughly experienced AFL-CIO union craftsmen. Don't accept what the fast-talking salesman tells you. He may be misrepresenting. Make it your business to be sure.

If you don't have the necessary information, you can find out very easily by phoning the local Building Trades Council in your community.



Automation and the Worker

*A new industrial revolution is upon us.
Is it going to increase or reduce job satisfaction?*

By **DAVID A. MORSE**

Director-General, International Labor Organization

JOB satisfaction is a personal matter, varying from individual to individual, and a wide variety of motivations plays in any individual case.

The increasing complexity of industrial operations has brought about great changes in the manner of working and in the social organization of industrial life. Automation and many other related technological innovations give new force to the shift of emphasis from individual effort to teamwork. They appear to make even more necessary and urgent the task of developing better ways of giving individual workers a greater sense of participation in the common effort.

We need far more study of the effects of automation and other recent technological developments on the human being and on human relations in industry and society. How, in particular, can we make further progress toward the two essentials, fostering a sense of "belonging" and giving sincere recognition to the human dignity of the individual?

It is likely that some of the psychological problems associated with older forms of mass production will disappear and that new ones associated with increasingly automatic production will take their place.

For example, many workers have disliked machine-paced work, the stress and strain of assembly-line work. Research has shown that pace-setting of a worker by a machine is a source of psychological fatigue and of psychological dissatisfaction. Partial automation seems to reinforce this tendency. That, at any rate, is the finding of the British Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

On the other hand, the change-over



DAVID A. MORSE

to complete, or virtually complete, automation seems to reverse the tendency and to free the worker from machine-pacing. The operator on a fully automatic process rarely needs to pace his work according to the speed of a machine. Thus, one source of common dissatisfaction with work may be removed.

But against this must be set the possible disadvantages of work on automated processes, for instance, the loss of physical activity and contact with physical materials on the job. Moreover, there may be strain associated with automated jobs. Some observers have found evidence of mental tension involved in maintaining "patient alertness." Several American and European studies have suggested that more workers in automated plants than in non-automated plants feel jumpy or nervous about their work. This, however, has some-

times been traced to the unfamiliarity of the new work at first or to inadequate training—feelings which wear off with time.

Then there is the question of companionship on the job. Many workers on old methods of mass production have enjoyed the constant society of their colleagues. Those on automated processes tend to be assigned to isolated work stations and often to be completely alone through the whole of their work periods.

A case study of automation in the Renault works in France noted that the workers' only human contacts during work were with the technical machine setter or the charge hand, and that this isolation from other human contact hardly made the workers any happier. Men without previous shop experience found it easier to settle down.

On the other hand, a case study in the United States of two electric power plants, one highly modern and the other older, showed that in the new plant men were brought more into contact with other men doing other jobs and had more of a chance to talk with them. As a result there was some indication that the men felt a greater unity and had more the sentiment of belonging to a single group than they did previously.

Several British and Russian studies have stressed the possibilities of greater job satisfaction deriving from the new forms of technical cooperation which are required with automation and which are breaking down old distinctions between manual and non-manual workers.

There is the possibility that many jobs on automated processes may well be intrinsically more interesting than

those which existed under other methods of production. The operator can see more of the process and can see more clearly how his work fits in with that of others. Moreover, it has been noted that some workers find the control of an imposing array of machinery to be an attraction.

There is some prospect that job enlargement and automation can go together. For example, in the Netherlands and the United States, several firms have tried out job enlargement programs deliberately, not for technical reasons but in order to see whether such programs could con-

tribute to greater job satisfaction.

They have tried job rotation—say from the unit control station to other duties in the plant. The effects were marked. More men seemed to find their jobs interesting and to get more satisfaction out of them.

On the other hand, sometimes job enlargement programs of management, lumping together miscellaneous duties, have appeared to workers as job downgrading.

Two things are certain.

One is that it is too soon to say with any conviction that automation and related technological developments

mean an end to dull, boring and monotonous jobs and create less routine and more fulfilling jobs. The other is that since interest in work and satisfaction from work go hand in hand, and since the interest and satisfaction of automated work differ in kind from those of the past, the human problems of automation, the problems peculiar to the individual, require the most special attention.

These problems must not be neglected. Their solution is bound to be an important element in a smooth and successful transition to the new production methods of the future.

A GREAT SHOW

By JOSEPH LEWIS

Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO

THOUSANDS of Midwestern families will long remember the 1957 AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show held recently in Kansas City, Missouri. It was one of the most successful shows we ever presented.

Hailed as a highly interesting combination of a massive stage production and a colorful and exciting carnival, the educational exposition sponsored by the Union Label and Service Trades Department went into the records as the largest show of any kind ever to appear in Kansas City.

Through the six days of its run, banners and music and live entertainment brightened the already beautiful halls of the magnificent Municipal Auditorium, and there were carloads of balloons and candies and other goodies for the children to take home.

Countless awards to visitors, including shining new gas and electric ranges, clothing, toasters, radios and television sets, dinnerware, baked goods, tons of choice and prime beef, cigars, cigarettes and other prizes too numerous to describe, carried the story of good trade unionism into

the lives of thousands who came to visit the displays.

When disaster struck just south of Kansas City in the form of a raging tornado the evening prior to the show's closing date, the true heart of trade unionism came into focus. That night the show closed early in order that floodlights, generators and other electrical equipment might be rushed to the scene.

The following morning show head-

quarters, working with representatives of the Salvation Army, gathered carloads of foodstuffs and other necessities donated by union exhibitors and delivered the much-needed relief items to the tornado victims.

Former President Harry S. Truman joined in the festivities on opening day. He came from his home in Independence to visit with union friends at their displays.

Perhaps Roy Roberts, the publisher of the Kansas City *Star*, summed things up best when he declared in a welcoming editorial:

"The AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show is an impressive reminder that the great productivity of American industry is itself a product of labor-management cooperation.

"This is an essential fact of American life that sometimes is lost against the day-to-day background of strikes, slowdowns, negotiations and disagreements. For all their troubles, labor and management, in a free American economy, get along well enough to turn out more and better goods and services than any society in history."



Big crowds saw Union-Industries Show during its six-day run in Kansas City.

We Have Our Problems

By PAUL A. NAGLE

President, National Postal Transport Association

IT MIGHT seem that the president of a union of federal employees should have a distinct advantage over his counterpart in a union of non-government workers.

After all, isn't it true that the former can avail himself of the benefits provided by the main body of the American labor movement, yet still retain his identity with the working force of the federal government? And is it not also true that, being in a sense afforded dual protection, he has twice the freedom?

Is it not argued, further, that government is a far more understanding and cooperative employer than private industry, since government exists to serve the people and is not interested in profit?

Before I became active in the National Postal Transport Association, I too subscribed to the popular belief that government employees' unions and their officers are the recipients of most of the advantages it is possible to enjoy in an age of enlightened government and trade unionism.

Such, however, is not the case.

It is not true that the leader of a union of government employees is afforded any more latitude than the non-government union leader. He is, in fact, afforded considerably less.

The welfare of the members of the National Postal Transport Association depends largely on a favorable Congress, yet I am forbidden by the Hatch Act, which governs political activity of federal employees, to participate in Congressional election campaigns. I may neither denounce my enemy nor support my friend.

The extreme to which the Hatch Act is carried was exemplified by a controversy which raged during the 1956 Presidential campaign. At that time the Civil Service Commission announced a ban on the publication of photographs in which federal employee union officers appeared in the company of political candidates.



PAUL A. NAGLE

When I challenged the validity of that restriction by purposely posing with candidates of both parties, I was inviting dismissal from the postal service. Publication of these photographs in several newspapers brought me into technical violation of the act on the terms set forth by the Civil Service Commission.

As it turned out, the commission relented. I was not prosecuted and the incident was forgotten. But other inequities of the Hatch Act go on.

Further, the Administration continues to oppose statutory recognition of federal employee unions. They tell us that a law is unnecessary because the objectives of the legislation have already been attained.

Regarding the Administration's insistence that federal employee unions have already attained the recognition we seek, it is only fair to ask whether this is true. If it were true, would we find our officers denied access to the work floors of our installations? Would we find the right hand of top-level management denying knowledge

of what is being done or planned by the left hand of regional control?

Now let us consider the federal government as an employer. What is the true extent of its understanding and cooperation? Is the profit motive really non-existent?

So far as the first question is concerned, government talks a much better game than it plays. The postal employees are at the bottom of the economic totem pole. Once-dignified positions have been reduced to the point where, both in esteem and remuneration, they now compare only with the least skilled of American workers. As a result, recruitment has reached an all-time low.

The salaries of terminal clerks have advanced by only 105 per cent since 1939, while earnings of workers in manufacturing have risen 282 per cent weekly and 317 per cent hourly. The salaries of our road clerks have advanced only 101 per cent since 1939, but in the same period the earnings of employees of Class 1 railroads have increased by 278 per cent per week and 286 per cent hourly.

In the field of retirement, government spokesmen have virtually declared that responsibility to an employee cannot be projected from the time of his retirement to his death. This is, of course, tantamount to saying government is not to be held accountable for economic conditions.

Our people have asked only that they be assured stable incomes and that the economic status implicit in the conditions of their retirement be protected against damage in the vacuum behind an ascending price spiral. Is this asking too much of an employer who proclaims that he wants the postal service to be the type of service present employees would urge their children to enter?

One hears that there is no profit motive in government. Is this true?

In the case of the postal worker, the profit motive is as real as it is with the

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average industrial worker. Under the present postmaster general, the attitude is that the Post Office Department is first a self-supporting business and second a service to the people.

The budget does not balance, so cutbacks are effected and postal employes become jobless.

The emphasis on business rather than service has resulted in a deterioration in the structure of postal transportation. Mail is twenty-four to forty-eight hours late. Segments of railway postal service are withdrawn with the pious statement that, in each case, little if any mail is delayed. The cumulative effect of those "little" delays is now making itself felt across the country.

During the period of 1952-56, more than 36,000,000 miles of railway post office service were discontinued. When the Post Office Department fails to provide a sufficient number of highway post offices—in the same four-year period only seventy-two routes covering 8,000,000 miles were added—it is not surprising that such a condition results in poor postal service.

So we see that with regard to the postal employe, government enlightenment is a transitory thing, apparently depending very largely upon



Members of NPTA work in moving vehicles.

who is in power and upon the philosophy of the postmaster general.

As has been indicated, the leaders of unions of government employes face a variety of obstacles. One of the major roadblocks is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

In total disregard of the impact that impaired service has upon its own members, the Chamber across the country has been encouraging Congressional letter-writing campaigns

and varying forms of publicity to oppose postal employe salary objectives.

The former president of the national Chamber said recently that "no salary increase is justified, and we are faced with an emotional drive that must be resisted." To the underpaid postal employes this remark was as unfair as Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson's bird dog-kennel dog crack in regard to unemployed industrial workers.

To call the postal employe's need for a raise "an emotional drive that must be resisted" is typical of the stone age philosophy which the U.S. Chamber of Commerce continues to preach. Its approach is further to be decried because, in taking this heartless stand, the Chamber of Commerce is intervening between the postal em-

ployes and their only source of redress, Congress.

Despite the limitations and handicaps imposed upon us as a government employe union, we are an association rich with evidence of a driving urge to improve the lot of the American postal worker.

We have been militant in the past, and we will continue to pursue militantly the attainment of our basic political and economic rights.

From Other Labor Publications

Government Spending

From The Machinist

President Eisenhower was guilty of demagoguery back in 1952 when he was trying to make people believe Harry Truman was a spendthrift. Now, of course, the President has discovered that if the federal government is to perform the domestic services expected of it, defend our shores and stop world communism, it needs employes and equipment.

As a result, the President has decided—albeit timidly—that the country will be better off with a higher budget and an active government than it would be with a lower budget and a crippled government. The President's face is a little red, but he isn't the first politician who ever had to eat his campaign promises about government economy.

We believe that union members, like most thoughtful citizens, support an adequate budget that will permit our government

to perform the useful domestic services expected of it, to defend our shores and to stop the expansion of communism.

White-Collar Automation

From Steel Labor

At a pace which gathers momentum every day, new and complex problems growing out of automation are being thrust upon today's white-collar workers. How will they react? Will they sit back and be overwhelmed by the new look in the modern office and laboratory?

Certainly it would be foolhardy to engage in wishful thinking for a return of "the good old days," even if that were possible. But white-collar workers can get into the act. As a matter of fact, where they go rests in their own hands.

They can help mold their own future, protect their jobs, improve living and working standards and assume a new and even more important role in modern industry.

Value of Competition

From The Black Worker

Competition is not only the life of trade; it may sometimes serve as the life of freedom.

One striking and significant instance of the truth of this affirmation is the intense competitive struggle now going on between Congressmen and Senators representing the Republican and Democratic Parties to get credit for the passage of some kind—yes, any kind—of civil rights legislation.

This is the direct result of the independent use of the growing political power of the Negro citizen.

For any group of people to be known to be in the vest pocket of any party spells only political suicide for that people. It is a matter of common knowledge that politicians, Democratic and Republican, are long on promises but short on performance. They will keep only the promises they are made to keep by political pressure.



HARRY H. POLLAK

FOUR years have gone by since Britain dispatched a warship to its colony on the mainland of South America, "lifted" the constitution and put in jail the leading minister, the Stalinist Dr. Cheddi Jagan, together with a number of his chief supporters.

In 1953 British Guiana was in turmoil. On coming to power through his People's Progressive Party, the Jagan government had refused to administer the government and instead ordered political strikes throughout the colony. One minister of government never visited his office during his brief period of tenure.

A clear indication of Jagan's political philosophy is shown in some remarks contained in his address to a party congress in 1956 when he said:

"Let me at this point refer to the teachings of Comrade Stalin. * * * In the interest, therefore, of such a united front or a broadened People's Progressive Party, we must be at all times guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's three well-known principles. * * * All these trade unions are affiliated to the pro-imperialist ICFTU."

But in 1957, despite four years of interim government, Stalinist Jagan stands an excellent chance of winning the elections due to be held in August. Up to this point he has always been able to point out that he never had a chance to put his program in practice, to attack the nominated executive and legislative councils, to criti-

cize from without. It is clear he never really intends to administer, but only to sow seeds of chaos and confusion.

Why then is Jagan still so powerful? The answer lies in many areas, of course. But one of the chief problems is that improvements since 1953 in the economic situation of the workers and farmers of British Guiana have neither been visible nor clear.

A routine entry into Georgetown, the capital, from the airport gives convincing evidence of poverty in bad housing, set along impossible roads. While a program for low-cost housing has, in fact, been instituted by government, the results are still meager compared to the tremendous need.

Any demagogue could find a happy hunting ground here, but it is the tragedy of British Guiana that its chief demagogue is a man who is ready, willing and eager to make Guiana a captive satellite, serving the foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union.

Jagan's recent appeal to the impover-

ished farmers and the downtrodden workers is ironic in view of the earth-shaking exposures of massive Soviet exploitation and oppression of these very groups. But it must be remembered that perhaps less than a handful of Guianese really know communism in theory or practice. For most of them Hungary is a faraway place with little meaning.

Moreover, the democratic forces in British Guiana are weak and divided. Too many individuals are vying with one another for political power rather than unifying for the greatest effect. Some of the democrats are still unaware of the nature of the enemy in their midst. I remember being asked by a highly intelligent civil servant:

"Do you really think Jagan is a Communist?"

There are among the democrats those who suffer politically as a result of being associated with an interim, nominated government. Many of them have been doing an outstanding job within the limited framework, but



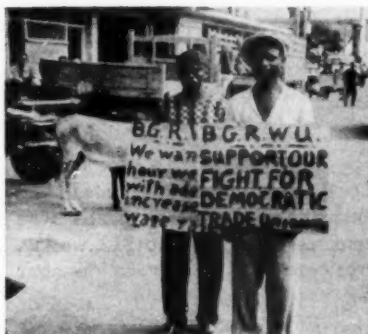
Busy Georgetown harbor. Political developments in British Guiana are watched closely since, geographically, it is one of the gateways to South America and a vital Caribbean link.

interim governments in the Caribbean are by their very nature highly unpopular. Independence from colonial control is a burning desire of most of the people in the Caribbean area and cuts across ideological lines.

The free trade union movement must, of course, operate within this political setting. It is a weak trade union movement. British Guiana is not much different from other territories in the Caribbean area. It has essentially a plantation economy, where many employers are geared to the most feudal concepts of labor-management relations. It also has an economy of high unemployment and underemployment, so that a man visiting a friend on the job may be suspected of seeking his friend's job.

Victimization of workers for union activity is not uncommon. Dues-paying members are rarities. Some trade union leaders have political power as their essential aim, and periods before elections, therefore, find unions at their lowest ebb.

The ORIT affiliate is the British Guiana Trades Union Council. It has as its general secretary Rupert C. Tello, who is an able Caribbean trade unionist. Tello, however, suffers from the fact that he is a nominated member of the interim government. Despite the fact that he has been doing yeoman work in his government position, Tello is the subject of incessant attacks by the Jaganite



Workers picketing the Rice Marketing Board. There are two unions of rice workers.

Communists for this thankless role.

The British Guiana Trades Union Council has a few stable unions, such as in bauxite and transportation. It is significant, too, that these unions have the check-off system.

The sugar union affiliated with the TUC, the Manpower Citizens' Protective Association, has been unable to secure a check-off and organizes less than a quarter of all sugar workers. A recent inquiry into a strike at one of the sugar estates (Skeldon) went against the union despite great exertions which labor put into the struggle. The remainder of the unions in the TUC have few financial members and in some cases just a handful of even paper members.

During the course of my recent visit to British Guiana, I had occasion to talk with many workers in all cate-

gories—carpenters, sugar and rice workers, seamen and longshoremen, transport workers, clerks, civil service employees and many others. Everywhere I tried to stress the importance of trade unionism finding its own way within the area—free from the dictates of political necessity or domination—the need for dues-paying, care in using the strike weapon and the avoidance of dual unionism.

There is no question that the free trade union movement of British Guiana will need strong international labor solidarity. In all of the territory there are practically no free trade union organizers who are supported alone by trade union salaries. A union organizer must travel tremendous distances, often over some of the most atrocious roads, in order to talk to workers. In the rainy season in British Guiana the road system in many parts of the country is just a morass of mud.

They also need good trade union literature, adapted to the needs of the area, to counteract the great quantities of Communist material financed by the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions.

While the trade union situation in British Guiana has unique characteristics, many of its features are the rule elsewhere in the Caribbean. It is important, therefore, that the danger signs in British Guiana should be viewed in the general context.

IMPORTANT POINTS TO REMEMBER

WHENEVER YOU SPEND MONEY

★ *Patronize Stores That Have Been Unionized* ★

★ *Buy Products That Carry Union Labels* ★

INSIST UPON UNION LABELS, CARDS AND BUTTONS

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

▶The Building Service Employees and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have been recognized in Pennsylvania as collective bargaining agents for state workers under an executive order signed by Governor George M. Leader.

▶Local 270, Utility Workers, has obtained weekly increases of \$4 to \$6 and added protection against sudden changes in job classifications and promotional charts for employees of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company in Cleveland.

▶The Communications Workers have recently gained increases in pay averaging more than 12 cents an hour for 800 employees of the General Telephone Company of Ohio.

▶The Textile Workers Union now represents employees at fourteen Bemis Brothers Bag Company mills. The union's latest victory was at the company's plant at Flemington, N.J.

▶Local 421 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Los Angeles, recently won increases totaling \$9 to \$12 weekly, three weeks of paid vacation after five years and other gains.

▶The Gary, Ind., local of the American Newspaper Guild has obtained a \$9 weekly increase and a 35-hour week in a two-year agreement with the Gary *Post-Tribune*.

▶In one day Mrs. Cordelia Pesikay, shop steward of Lodge 1747, American Federation of Government Employees, at the Memphis Air Force Depot, signed up ten new members.

▶Machinists' District 52, Columbus, Ohio, has obtained a 38-cent hourly package in a pact with the Modern Tool, Die and Machine Company.

▶Wage increases as high as 18 cents an hour have been won for employees of the cafeteria operated at the Western Electric plant in Indianapolis.

▶A highlight of the new three-year agreement between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the men's and boy's clothing industry is a clause guarding against dismissals and wage cuts because of the introduction of new machinery and new methods. Increased payments will be made under improved hospitalization and sick benefit clauses in the accord.

▶The Packinghouse Workers have obtained wage increases averaging 35 cents an hour in an initial contract negotiated with Vy Lactos Laboratories of Des Moines, Iowa, makers of animal feed supplements.

▶Lodge 1857 of the Machinists in Vancouver, B.C., was successful in obtaining a 20-cent hourly pay increase at McCleery and Weston, a building materials firm.

▶Local 369 of the Utility Workers has won an increase of 12½ cents an hour at the Boston Edison Company.

An important by-product of unionism in steel is better citizens. Photo shows students taking part in the annual college scholarship competition sponsored by the Steelworkers' District 28 in Ohio.



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JULY,

►Local 16-368 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Windsor, Ont., has obtained higher hourly pay and a wage differential increase at John Wyeth and Brother, Ltd.

►Pay hikes totaling \$6 a week, which will bring the top weekly wage to \$125, have been gained by the Broadcast Employees and Technicians at Station WFMJ in Youngstown, Ohio.

►Local 147 of the Retail Clerks, Astoria, Ore., has gained an increase of 42½ cents an hour at the Safeway stores in St. Helens, Ore.

►Local 169 of the Boilermakers has won pay increases totaling 27½ cents an hour from the Power House Contractors Association in Detroit.

►Region 5 of the United Auto Workers has purchased the Lamar, Mo., birthplace cottage of former President Truman and presented it to the state, which will maintain it as a shrine.

►Local 147 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, New York City, has won higher wages and a leave of absence system at the Jacoby-Bender Watchband Company.

►Local 7-535 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Zionsville, Ind., has won a package of 25 cents an hour at the Rock Island Refining Company.

►The Auto Workers received 598 votes in an NLRB election at the Ford engine plant in Lima, Ohio. Only six votes were cast for no union.

►A vicious campaign was conducted in Jackson, Miss., against the International Union of Electrical Workers, but it laid an egg. When an NLRB election among the employees of the Vickers plant was held, the IUE was the winner by a good margin.

►James Jones, a member of Lodge 6130 of the Railway Clerks, Florence, S.C., has collected more than \$80,000 for the March of Dimes during the past twenty years.

►Local 101, Transport Workers, has gained higher pay at the Brooklyn Union Gas Company in New York.

►The Communications Workers have won a \$3 weekly increase at the Central California Telephone Company.

Berlin-U.S. Workers' Bond of Friendship

By HENRY RUTZ

International Representative, AFL-CIO

NOT all of the publicity given American labor in Europe recently has been bad.

It is true that Germany's *Der Spiegel*, which is comparable to our *Time* magazine, has featured a story on Dave Beck and that *Match*, the Paris counterpart of *Look*, has published two articles exposing reputed American trade union racketeers. And there have been similar stories in lesser publications financed by European big business, which would like to use the McClellan Committee's disclosures to curb unions in Western Europe.

In West Berlin, however—that fighting outpost of Western democracy—American labor has been uniquely honored. Several million Berliners have become acquainted with the center part of the beautiful mosaic mural which thousands of Americans have admired in the lobby of our new AFL-CIO Building in Washington.

This came about as follows:

Several months ago Ernst Scharnowski, the dynamic president of the Berlin Trade Union Federation, inquired of this writer if he could get



HENRY RUTZ

permission from the AFL-CIO officers to reproduce that section of the mural which appeared on the U.S. Labor Day three-cent postage stamp issued in 1956.

He proposed to use this theme on posters advertising Berlin's Week of Labor and on admittance cards to the more than a dozen lectures, tours and theater performances held in connection with the Week of Labor.

President Scharnowski's request was granted and the necessary photos were forwarded to him.

Thousands of posters were pasted up on the bulletin boards of factories and in public posting places. The admittance cards—really three-page folders—carried the mural on the front page, with a three-cent U.S. Labor Day postage stamp attached on the last page. A note explained that the AFL-CIO mural furnished the theme of the American three-cent stamp issued in connection with the observance of our Labor Day last year.

At a press conference to get the Week of Labor under way, President Scharnowski was swamped by newsmen who clamored for copies of the admittance cards with the attached stamps. The newspapers published pictures of the AFL-CIO mural design, and I suspect that more Europeans are now familiar with our lobby's mosaic than Americans.

This gesture of friendship toward the American labor movement is a reaffirmation of the bonds between West Berlin's working people and those of our country.

In West Berlin at least, communism's attempt to smear the AFL-CIO has not caught hold.

WHAT THEY SAY

William C. Doherty, president, National Association of Letter Carriers



—The most baffling mystery of our time is the sad spectacle of federal workers engaged in two and three jobs in order to eke out an existence. Employees of the

wealthiest nation on the face of the earth are paid substandard wages, while at the same time their employer, Uncle Sam, dispenses money to every corner of the globe with a largess unheard in the annals of mankind.

The refusal of the Administration to deal forthrightly with the serious economic situation confronting its own employees parallels its ineptitude in dealing with other federal personnel problems generally. Seldom before have government workers received as little consideration as they have in the last five years.

Max Greenberg, president, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union



—The ethical standards by which labor is guided must be and are substantially higher than those governing the rest of the community. Union leaders and

members recognize that the ethics of business are not enough for labor. Many of the practices that are considered acceptable in industry's competitive struggle for profits cannot be tolerated in the labor movement, where service—not gain—must be the primary motive.

The AFL-CIO has taken the initiative to promote ethical practices. The Executive Council, led by President George Meany, did not close its eyes to the problem of corruption, nor did it pass the buck to federal and local law enforcement agencies. Instead, it has acted to keep the house of labor in order, to protect the good name of the overwhelming majority

of unions and to cleanse those few unions whose leaders do not conform to labor's ethical standards.

We can all take pride in the steps being taken within the labor movement to clean out every vestige of racketeering in our midst. It is typical of the anti-labor forces that they should seize on this self-policing action as an opportunity to smear the entire labor movement and to call for restrictive legislation aimed not at racketeering but at all unions.

Irving M. Ives, Senator from New York



—The theory behind the closed shop provision of the Wagner Act was that organized labor generally could achieve greater economic benefits for the individual worker than he could obtain by unila-

teral bargaining with an employer, and that, if the majority of the employees desired such collective bargaining, all of the employees in the union should be required to support it in return for the greater economic benefits which they realized through collective bargaining.

Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permits the several states to enact legislation barring union shop agreements, and eighteen states have already enacted such legislation. However, it is interesting to note that only one of these might in any way be considered an industrial state where organized labor has so effectively improved the standard of living of the American laborer.

In view of the present safeguards contained in the Taft-Hartley Act, and the fact that all the members of a collective bargaining unit receive the benefits obtained through collective bargaining, I have believed that all employees have an obligation to support their collective bargaining agent, economically and otherwise, as long as a majority of the employees in the unit desire to be represented by the labor organization in question.

In some respects a labor organiza-

tion is not unlike a corporation in which the minority stockholders are bound by the actions taken by the majority unless their rights as a minority are jeopardized.

Joseph S. Clark, Senator from Pennsylvania



—That every American family should have the opportunity to buy or rent a decent place to live in would appear to be about as non-controversial an assertion as one could make. Yet,

eight years after the passage of the Housing Act of 1949 and in the midst of economic prosperity, it is a goal which we are far from reaching. In the field of public housing we have not even restored the minimum program envisioned by the late Senator Taft. In the field of private housing we are not stimulating home building sufficiently to insure an adequate number of new housing starts.

If we are to make any real progress in improving housing standards, we must have close to 2,000,000 housing starts a year. At the present time the outlook is for less than half that many.

We must have much more public housing for the lower-income group, an effective program of help for the middle-income group—perhaps hardest hit of all by the housing shortage—and adequate credit for FHA, VA and conventionally financed homes for the higher-income purchaser.

Joseph V. Moreschi, president, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union



—The veneer of progress and of civilization sometimes seems thin indeed. At very few times within memory have people needed

more the solace which comes from the hope of a better tomorrow.

Man must take steps toward a better day. We must display a reaffirmation of faith and charity toward our troubled brethren. We must implement that faith with action—but this is also a time for prayer.